1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5



The deserted husband shot the child simply [672]
because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because 684
there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's 578
family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three 627
or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage, 482
was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He 578
then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was ac- 627
cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some years earlier by Fanpeni. Incidentally, the murder of a lineal kin to appease affinal kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, although I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157 there is a case in which a maniac was told by kin that they would take his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of 182
so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that rec- 152
ognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incalculable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpada's autobiography contains the statement, "The older people all lectured us about fighting and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a 721
very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by 726
boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk. There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids before Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered a period of about thirty years.

1. Manisenlaka of Kewai killed Motlaka of Lawatika. No one seemed to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lonmani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in revenge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in selling a head.

3. Lanpada of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

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432 727 262 481 602 765 is, the closest lineal kin of the murdered man receives from the sellers gifts of which he does not partake, whereas the more distant Male House kin may eat freely of the food. This parallels the procedure in death feasts, at which close kin of the dead refuse food. After this lifting of taboos, payments are in order, but, as in the payoff of death feast obligations, they may not be made for many years. This preliminary procedure is simply a token of an obligation undertaken. In 1938 and 1939 there were still such outstanding obligations awaiting settlement, although no heads had been taken for at least twenty years.

727 766 If an enemy kills a man but does not have a chance to decapitate him, the home village of the victim itself decapitates him, puts the head in an ash-filled basket, and hangs it in a bamboo thicket or on a remotely located platform. Before putting it aside, however, the six potential buyers of revenge shoot arrows into the head of their kinsman and urge his soul to go out and find six sellers, that is, six avengers. The head is "fed" every few days and whenever it smells food it is supposed to cry. This assures the kin that the head is still there and that it has not been stolen by an enemy for resale.

727 682 In all this system of revenge the head is actually of minimal importance. One can sell the fact of a death without producing the head. On the other hand, any head will do if a lineal kin wishes to buy one and make an honorific (i.e., financial) settlement for a death. In such a case, a stolen head will do as well as any other.

727 432 At the payoff for the head the sellers must first be appeased, and, as in all financial settlements of this sort, there are hours and hours of haggling, of derogations, of threatened withdrawals, and of attempted chicanery. When claims of the various ranks of creditors have been met, the climax of the ceremony is to bring the head onto the dance place. Since the real head has usually long since disintegrated or been lost, a cowrie shell or a stone wrapped in coconut fiber can be substituted. The bundle is woven into a closed coconut-leaf container like those made for cooking raw rice and is lashed to the end of a pole. A volunteer, who is paid a small fee, stands with the pole and its bundle on the village boundary. He calls the buyers to come fetch the sellers and the bundle. The buyers and their female kin assemble in full regalia in front of the head bundle and begin "dancing" it into the village.

535 432 727 The dance is a vigorous challenge dance resembling the gestures used by men in debate. This dancing of an object into the village is also used for house posts, valuable mokos, spirit-bird bundles, and any prized objects. The sellers follow this procession. Once on the dance